THE New Republic

Government
By Leak

Richard L. Strout

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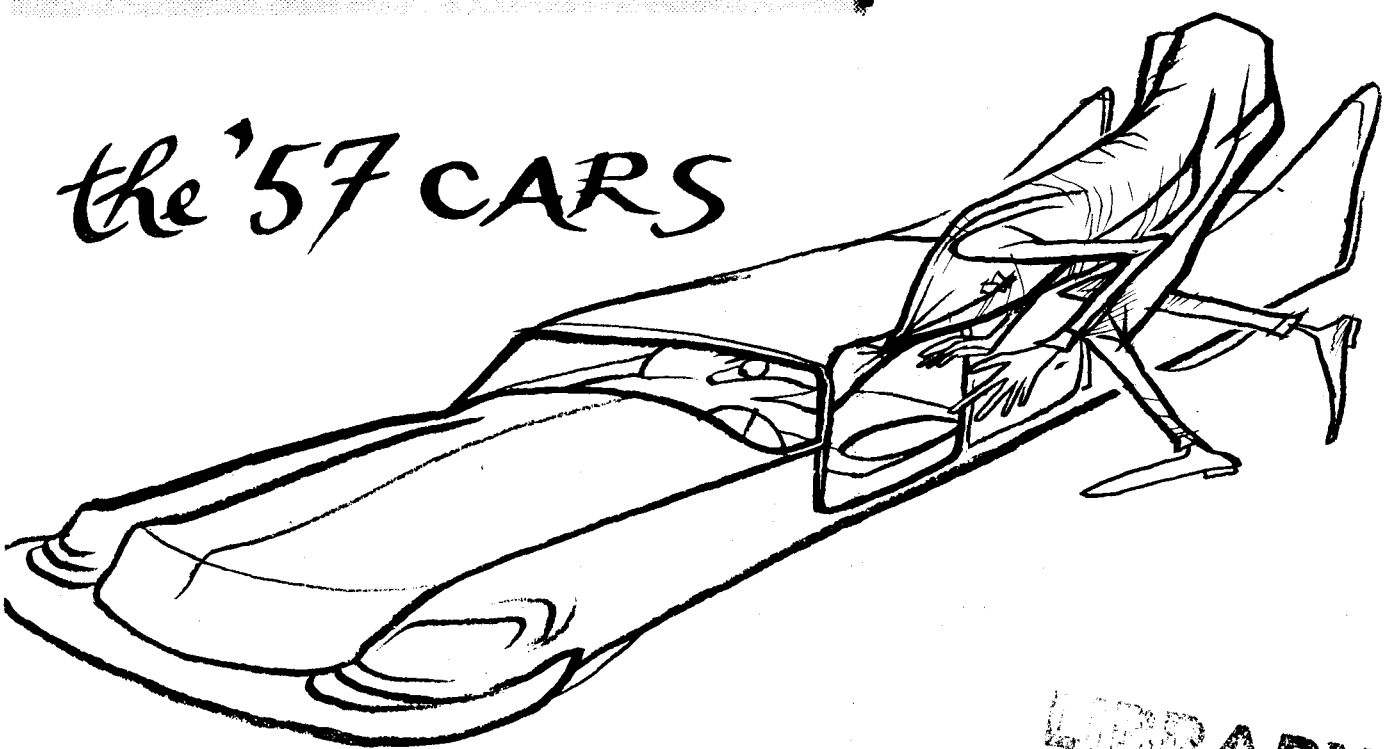

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▶ A PORTFOLIO BY Osborn

A TOUCH OF NAUSEA:

The Morality of the Suez Crisis

BY LOUIS J. HALLE

JANUARY 21, 1957

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Washington Wire

Times Have Changed

AT A Morningside Heights meeting with the late Sen. Robert A. Taft in 1952, Candidate Eisenhower set his financial goals if elected as a budget of "about $60 billion," a reduction in Federal debt and a stabilized cost of living. What does the new budget show? Interest on government debt is bigger not smaller, the debt is bigger not smaller, peacetime expenses of government are bigger not smaller (the biggest in history in fact) and the cost of living is higher, not lower. The budget has been balanced, it is true, because the Korean War is over, and taxes have been "cut" in the sense that the Korean War taxes have mostly been dropped.

The guileless Taft-Eisenhower theory of a peacetime budget of "$60 billion" disregarded the fact that US population is increasing three million people a year and the world is smoldering with war. The naïve idea was that if Washington stopped being "socialistic" federal taxes would wither away.

Times have changed. Eisenhower's five State of the Union messages tell the story. His first, in 1953, was applauded 55 times; his latest, last week, 5 times. The 1953 message was offered on the theory that solutions were easy, the second with the comprehension that they are hard, as instance the grim warning against inflation.

In 1953 Eisenhower was the victorious crusader, shocked at the national debt—"now more than $265 billion" (today—$275 billion) twice attacking Truman's "planned" deficits, unleashing the Seventh Fleet, and announcing with eloquent simplicity, "This Administration has, therefore, begun the definition of a new, positive foreign policy."

In 1954 (50 times applauded), the beaming President announced at last the "precious intangible, the initiative" was ours in the Cold War. Things abroad were going swimmingly, he said; we could now "reduce" our economic aid.

In 1955 (applauded 18 times), the ever-optimistic President declared the "free nations are collectively stronger than at any time in recent years."

In 1956 (not delivered in person), the President tersely announced: "Inflation has been halted; the cost of living stabilized." One sour note, though: it was suddenly discovered we should increase foreign aid, though of course we were still winning the Cold War.

And so to last week: This year's "State" message was dull stuff, streamlined to 30 minutes, with only five interruptions of applause. Two of these, incidentally, were solely from Republicans, responding to attacks against (a) "stifling bureaucracy" and (b) "government competition" — which magic phrases bring the same kind of reflex action from GOP Congressmen as does an electric discharge down a frog's leg.

The President announced happily that "the long slide in farm income has been halted" (Nobody applauded. The Administration has "solved" the farm problem half a dozen times in four years.)

What all this means is that it is less what Ike says than the condition under which he says it. Jobs at home, peace abroad. Eisenhower is not Mr. Republican; he is "Mr. Prosperity." He epitomizes the country's hope of prolonging this national euphoria, and puts the frosting on the cake by utterances that make us all feel noble and consecrated as well as eupeptic.

Republicans, En Garde

WHAT IS going on in Washington now, I think, is a shake-down exercise to find out the forthcoming relationships between a Democratic majority in Congress and a Republican President. Most of what is happening is taking place under the surface, but it is the important part. The precedent of the past two years indicates Democratic subservience to the President. But there is an older, more familiar tradition of conflict under divided political control. Many commentators have forgotten the precedent. Harmony is certainly the goal of Lyndon Johnson. While even Republican Senator Aiken (Vt.) was calling the latest Eisenhower speech "so general that it is not likely to excite much comment or controversy," the so-called opposition leader, Johnson, praised the speech as "a comprehensive and thoughtful analysis."

The drive to restore two-party government in Washington comes mostly from the Democratic leadership outside Congress. Dean Acheson put on a great show in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Like Truman he agreed that now Eisenhower has asked for support in the Middle East it must be given, but he called the "Doctrine" not so much a policy as an "invitation to devise one." Acheson looks more and more like a painting of Velasquez; his aristocratic features are peculiarly formed to express scorn, a bristling eyebrow to cock, a noble nose to tilt, a reddish guards' moustache to bristle and an impish mouth with devastating humor at command. Acheson is, in fact, a tremendous swell with an invisible ruff and rapier wit. Poor Rep. John Vorys (R, Ohio) was spitted before he knew what hit him.

Acheson argued that the UN cannot "form" American policy—it is still primarily a forum and not a world government; the US can fight for what it believes in the UN but cannot abdicate responsibility by merely passing a resolution. With infinite gusto Acheson observed that "a sense of unimpeachable rectitude" is not in itself a policy.

And whom in Washington could he have had in mind in quoting Lilburn's characterization of Cromwell — "You shall scarce speak to Cromwell about anything but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record. He will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib"?

Notes

ANTI-FILIBUSTER legislation and a civil rights bill now have a better-than-even chance in Congress, two fruits of the militancy of the band of Senate Democratic liberals. . . . Knowland will be the Old Guard's answer to Nixon in 1960; but we still think that it will be Nixon.

T. R. B.

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The New Republic
A JOURNAL OF OPINION

JANUARY 21, 1957

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Correspondence

► *Democratic Leadership*

SIRS:

HELEN HILL MILLER'S interesting article on Democratic Leadership (NR, Dec. 17) no doubt draws an accurate picture of the problem as seen from where she sits; a comfortable, non-partisan seat from which to observe, but carrying no responsibility for action. However I sit in Texas. No such comfortable seat is mine and action is implicit in being on the scene at all. But action leads up a rough and difficult road lined with false signs pointing to by-passes which, if you follow them, take you exactly nowhere.

It is a long-long-way-a-winding which has brought us to this day in Texas. And it is fair to point out that all the way the Democratic National Committee has swung the whip that has scourged us on to disaster. I do not know how many

(Continued on Page 23)

The Evolving Doctrine

THE Eisenhower Doctrine will emerge as a significant step in American foreign policy, even though many of the Congressional criticisms are valid and will help shape its ultimate form.

The President's critics contend first that a warning to the Russians against Communist aggression in the Middle East does not require an advance grant of power to the President "to employ the armed forces of the US as he deems necessary." Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson testified that the President's purpose could be accomplished by a broad statement of Congressional policy, similar to the Vandenberg Resolution of 1948. This concept has now been incorporated by Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D, Ark.) into a substitute resolution.

Critics attack the President's proposal of $400 million in economic assistance, some contending aid is not necessary (such as cotton bloc representatives who fear Middle East development inevitably means cotton competition), others declaring economic aid necessary but needed on a grander scale for all underdeveloped countries, or at least guided by a regional approach which would help develop political co-operation within the area.

Finally, critics have challenged the detachment of the Eisenhower Doctrine from the principal political quarrels in the area—Suez and the Arab-Israeli disputes. "It is naïve and fantastic," former President Truman wrote, "to hope that we can achieve any kind of peace in the Middle East as long as there are bitterness and open clashes between the Arabs and Jews."

Whether these criticisms are valid or not can be judged against the "grand design of American strategy," a term we apply with some hesitation in the case of an Administration which has shown so little taste for advance planning. The unstated purpose of the Eisenhower Doctrine, beyond the warning to Russia, is to isolate Nasser's Egypt and his ally Syria from all neighboring countries, and thus to insulate the centers of Russian penetration, just as the human body builds a protective layer around a diseased area.

The "grand design" reveals itself in the trip of King Saud of Saudi Arabia to Washington, a visit arranged on only one week's notice despite the fact that such state visits are often announced a year in advance. It shows up too in the round-about tour of the Western-minded Lebanese Foreign Minister Charles Malik to Cairo, Paris and London, en route to New York. Then there is the unfolding political grouping of Libya, Tunis and Morocco, turning its back on Egypt and looking to the West for leadership. And Sudan, Mr. Dulles made a point of specifying to Congress, will get special attention in Mr. Eisenhower's economic proposals.

Jordan is perhaps the most critical piece in the jigsaw. Lying between Egypt and Syria, its $33 million annual subsidy from Britain about to be terminated, it desperately needs financial aid. Whether that aid will come

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from Egypt or the Soviet Union or the US could be one of the first indications of Western progress.

The negative side of this grand design is plain enough. The US has only to play upon a widespread fear of Russia now growing among Arabs themselves and the Arab resentment against Colonel Nasser for economic hardships stemming from his canal seizure to widen the gap between Egypt and her neighbors.

But what plan does the Eisenhower Doctrine offer for constructive co-operation among these nations rimming Egypt and Syria? Is it a substitute for the Arab League? Is it a regional economic grouping like the Colombo Plan in South Asia, which might by its positive economic programs hope to attract both Egypt and Syria into its ranks? On these questions the Administration's thinking is vague.

Add to this uncertainty the growing fear at the United Nations—expressed by many nations other than Britain, France and Israel—that the UN has no determination to press for settlements on Suez and the Palestine question. "Mr. Hammarskjold is a fine negotiator," it is said, "but he is a conservative man, and might well be satisfied with the *status quo ante.*" And there are reports, some on very high authority, that military talks continue among the Israelis, French and British, with the chance not yet ruled out that some or all of the belligerents would strike again if convinced a UN settlement is hopeless.

Several next steps for American policy are clear against this background, although the end of the road is still over the hill, beyond view.

The President deserves the support of Congress in his warning to the Soviet Union that he will use US armed forces against any Communist or Communist-dominated aggressor in the Middle East. We are already morally committed by the UN Charter to offer such aid. But a specific reminder is in order.

Next, the President must outline more fully how the economic aid he proposes will unify the Middle East, if he is to satisfy those critics who normally support a constructive foreign economic policy. To clarify it requires some kind of regional plan which will eventually make possible a 6-nation approach to the Nile, a 4-nation approach to the Jordan, a 4-nation plan for the Tigris-Euphrates, and perhaps a 12-nation group to promote the tourist traffic in the Eastern Mediterranean.

On Suez and the Palestine question, the first step is not only clear but urgent. Israeli troops must be evacuated from Egypt under an arrangement which prevents a resumption of border raids, and leaves a military climate in which political negotiations can proceed. That purpose is best served by an immediate resolution of the General Assembly to create a de-militarized zone along the entire Egyptian-Israeli frontier, taking in the Gaza Strip on the west and the entire shoreline of the Gulf of Aqaba on the east, this strip to be patrolled by the UN Emergency Force as long as there remains a threat that the UN Charter will be violated.

But to justify such a resolution the UN must remedy a basic error committed at the time of its cease-fire order: it must recognize blame on both sides. The Middle East crisis of 1956 was induced by years of armed raids and reprisals, with just grievances on both sides, and excesses by both sides. It is this situation which now justifies a UN demand for a neutral zone, carved from the territories of both parties.

Half-Open Sky Proposal

Now it's official: the US has relinquished the central stratagem in our disarmament approach of the past two years—that total aerial inspection of all Russian territory must precede any arms limitation—and has offered more limited proposals which have brighter prospects for adoption.

President Eisenhower confirmed the policy shift in his State of the Union message, and Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge offered a broad outline of the new proposals to the UN General Assembly on January 14. The next step is up to the UN Disarmament Subcommittee which meets in March.

As a beginning the US would accept a world-wide agreement, under effective inspection, to ban all future manufacture of nuclear weapons or the future manufacture of fissionable materials for weapons. This agreement would not affect past stockpiles, which can be hidden from inspection.

If the ban on weapons manufacture can be put into effect, the US would then accept a general agreement to limit and eventually to eliminate all nuclear test explosions. Pending such agreement, the US would accept a requirement for advance notice of tests, registration with the UN, and limited international observation.

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The US would also agree to a cutback in the military manpower of both the Soviet Union and the US if accompanied by a progressive inspection system which included some aerial inspection. US armed strength is now 2.9 million, the Russians 3.6 million. The proposed new ceiling would be 2.5 million for each. Any cut below that, would require some progress toward a political settlement as a prior condition, Mr. Lodge has said.

The US would further agree that the testing of space satellites, space platforms and intercontinental ballistic missiles be limited to non-military purposes if those tests were subject to international inspection and "participation." This suggests a UN development program for outer space.

As a first step toward warning against surprise attack, the US is now willing to accept less than the total open skies proposal of last year—thus opening the way for agreement on ground posts and the "half open skies," as outlined by Premier Bulganin to Mr. Eisenhower in his November 17 letter.

These proposals indicate that the Eisenhower Administration rejects the widespread view that Russian actions in Hungary rule out any possibility of arms control and —on the contrary—that Russian difficulties in the satellites might make a limited arms agreement possible.

The New Republic welcomes the constructive move the Eisenhower government has made while recording two disappointments. For one, the linking of a ban on bomb tests to a comprehensive agreement banning all nuclear weapons manufacture is but to postpone indefinitely any decision on the moral issue of polluting the world's atmosphere with harmful radioactive materials. The two issues can be separated.

For another, the President has not yet given a reasoned reply to the Russian proposal for a reciprocal withdrawal of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces from Central Europe, accompanied by aerial inspection. Discussions are now proceeding on this proposal between West Germany and Moscow, and it is possible that a breakthrough on such a scheme—linking a local political settlement with a local arms control scheme—may in the long run prove the only effective approach to world-wide agreements.

Reforming the Rules

WHEN Lyndon Johnson rose in the Senate to announce he would support the move of Minority Leader Knowland to reform Rule 22 this session, there was surprise and rejoicing among some supporters of stronger civil rights laws. They had not expected help from the Texas leader in weakening the power of the filibuster.

Knowland's proposal, as he had explained, was to permit the Senate to limit debate by a 2/3 vote of those present and voting, instead of requiring 2/3 of the total membership, or 64 votes, as is now the rule. Furthermore, he would eliminate Section 3 of the cloture rule which provides that there shall be no limit on debate on a motion to proceed on a change in Senate rules (to liberalize the cloture rule, for example).

So far so good.

But when Knowland presented his resolution in actual draft form, it contained an added section which neither he nor Johnson had mentioned, providing that: "The rules of the Senate shall continue from one Congress to the next Congress unless they are changed as *provided in these rules.*"

On January 4, Vice President Nixon had expressed the opinion that Section 3 of the present Rule 22 is unconstitutional—and that though the Senate is in some way a "continuing" body, it has a right to revise its rules at the beginning of the session by simple majority decision to do so. That opinion was not binding, but if the issue is properly raised in January, 1958, it can be. The force of the Knowland-Johnson "reform" move, with its special clause, could be to bring into further question the Senate's rights in making—or changing—its rule. Until its meaning is clarified, support of the Knowland-Johnson resolution is risky business for those who are working toward majority rule.

NEXT WEEK

Hugh Massingham from London:
Where Will Macmillan Lead Britain?

Helen Hill Miller Speculates on
Knowland and 1960

Voice of Reason

A BRAVE man stood before a White Citizens Council audience one night early this month and said:

> Our problem is not the Supreme Court. Nor is it the NAACP. Our problem is with ourselves and what we are going to do as responsible American citizens to recognize or deny privileges which our courts have said are the proper rights of Negroes. . . .
>
> We are being tested as a people, as a community and as a state, and we alone can give the answer on whether we can and will make the compromises and adjustments that will be . . . hard. But make them we must, if we are to stay within the law. If we go outside the law, we deliberately place ourselves in the wrong. Then we will be outlaws.

The speaker was Buford Boone, editor and publisher of the *Tuscaloosa,* Alabama, *News,* the place his home city, the consequences a wave of approval from sub-

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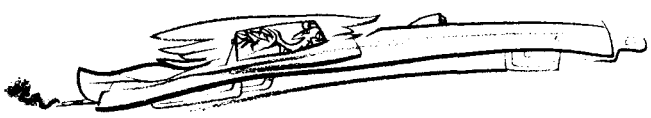
scribers with virtually no cancellations. Boone was born and raised in Georgia briar patch. Ever since the near-murder of Autherine Lucy, almost a year ago, he has taken an advanced position on that incident, condemning the rioters, reproaching the University Board of Trustees for not measuring up to its responsibility, proposing plans for preventing violence in the event of some other Negro's admission to the University.

He was invited to address this meeting of the citizens council by Leonard Wilson, the student who was expelled for his part in the disorders of last February. Boone understood he was to be the only speaker, and he was ready to answer questions. To his surprise, a typical Yahoo from Arkansas, Curtis Copeland, showed up for a shocking harangue, most of which was printed Sunday, January 6, in the *Tuscaloosa News*, together with Boone's speech—to provide the deadliest of parallels.

It was Copeland whom the White Citizens Council applauded to the echo and Boone who was jeered and threatened with being thrown out. But the fact remains that the sober sentiment of the community responded to Boone's high-minded appeal and not to the gross promptings of the imported agitator.

Two conclusions can be drawn. One is that Alabamians of light and leading can afford to speak out for the civilization of the state. The other is that, despite the appearance of widespread disaffection, there must be a large body of Southerners who, whatever their misgivings, are ready to deal with the problem of integration as reasonable and law-abiding people. That was shown at Clinton, Tenn., where the good sense of most has come to prevail over their own fears and the savagery of Negro-baiters.

The crying need in the South is for the kind of bold, constructive leadership Boone of Tuscaloosa is providing.



Auto-da-fe

NOT LONG AGO, according to the newspapers, a motorist picked up a hitchhiker who pointed to another car and spoke with great enthusiasm of the beauty of the "new models." The motorist promptly delivered his passenger to the police, who just as promptly returned him to the prison from which he had escaped. It turned out that the "new model" had been built in 1951. We hope that some charitable policeman, before sending this unfortunate back to his cell, was kind enough to give him a glimpse of an authentic 1957 automobile. What Detroit has done this year is enough to reconcile any sensitive convict to a life behind bars—as Robert Osborn, a sensitive artist still at large, makes abundantly clear in his drawings on pages 11, 12 and 13.

Sukarno+Hatta=Indonesia

INDONESIAN cabinets fall slowly. They do not topple and crash like a stack of blocks. They are more like a pile of sand whose underpinnings are washed away. The last time a cabinet fell, four weeks elapsed between the crisis and the actual resignation.

The key to Indonesian parliamentary politics is the balance of power between the four leading parties. Nationalists have 57 seats, 21 percent of the 271-member parliament. So does the Masjumi, largest Muslim party. Nahdatul Ulama, sometimes called the Muslim Teachers Party, has 45 seats, or 17 percent. Communists hold 39 seats—14 percent.

Three of the Big Four are needed to form a stable government. And at this writing, all religious parties, Muslim and Christian, have refused to form coalitions with the Communists.

Masjumi has quit Dr. Ali's Nationalist-led coalition. The Protestant Party and a local Muslim party in Sumatra may follow. But the present struggle in Indonesia is not in essence between Muslims and Nationalists. Rather it is between the claims of national unity arrayed against those of states' rights (*NR*, December 31, 1956).

Under pressure, Premier Ali's government has granted a number of concessions to rebels in different parts of Sumatra, but these unco-ordinated handouts did not establish any new pattern of provincial government. So, 48 hours later, responding to the discontent in Sumatra, Celebes, Borneo and the other "Outer Islands" where Masjumi is strongest, Masjumi quit the coalition. For the first time a leading party in Indonesia bespoke not the wisdom of the party leaders in Djakarta but the will of a defiant region.

"Javanism" is the burning issue. Of the dozens of ethnic and linguistic groups in Indonesia, the Javanese are the largest. Javanese families have held government posts for centuries. The Javanese and two other small groups have been best educated. As a result, there are Javanese in every office of the government. Sumatrans do not necessarily take kindly to a Javanese who is appointed their sub-district chief—or their governor.

A separate but related issue is local autonomy. To Americans, a federal government seems the only logical form for a far-flung republic. But many Indonesians remember federalism as a device which the Dutch employed during the Revolution to encourage puppet states. Today Indonesians have, instead, a highly-centralized "unitary state" in which the mayor of a major Sumatran city such as Medan may have to go hat-in-hand to Djakarta to get money for a new school.

The further one gets from Djakarta the more strongly the Indonesians want local autonomy. They feel that too little money gets spent for improvements outside of

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Java. Because Indonesia's biggest dollar-earners are Sumatran rubber, oil and other exports, Sumatrans are particularly vocal on the subject. Now they are more than vocal, they are in revolt.

Then there is the personality issue: Sukarno and Hatta. The president is a Javanese, an advocate of the unitary state, a dramatic orator who knows he speaks the heart of his people. The former vice-president is a Sumatran, a federalist, a scholar. The two have led their countrymen for three decades. They were revolutionaries together; they were proclaimed president and vice-president in 1945. But their partnership has become less effective, and Hatta has announced his retirement.

The issue is not Sukarno *vs.* Hatta, but Sukarno *vs.* Sukarno-Hatta. Shall the duumvirate, symbol of Indonesian unity, be revived and continued?

Chou in India: Milk, Manners and Moral Force

CHOU EN-LAI'S seven-nation Asian tour showed how dismally the United States has failed in its efforts to set up a military and moral *cordon sanitaire* around Communist China.

For example, one of the primary objectives of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) has been to keep Communist influence out of Laos and Cambodia. But now a coalition government, including Communists, has been formed in Laos, and Cambodia signed a goodwill pact with China during Chou's visit.

Thailand is a part of SEATO and receives substantial US military and economic aid. Not many months ago Thailand had a rigid ban on trade with China, which it does not recognize diplomatically. But now you need only look in any shop in Bangkok to see the swelling display of Red Chinese goods.

Pakistan, another strong American ally, has recently blossomed forth with ostentatious goodwill for China and has joined the list of Asian states urging President Eisenhower to seek an understanding with Peking.

Japan's Prime Minister Hatoyama wants to be an intermediary in bringing a settlement between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek.

Ceylon's Prime Minister Bandaranaike calls China a "semi-Communist" country.

In April, 1955, the State Department acted as if the meeting of Afro-Asian countries at Bandung was some kind of a party for unruly children. But Chou went to Bandung, joined in the anti-colonial chorus and made valuable contacts. Over the next year and a half one Asian president, about a half dozen present and former prime ministers and an army of scientists, educators, agronomists and politicians trooped to China. Formally, Chou's just completed tour reciprocated these visits.

While in India, Chou carefully refrained from attacking Britain and the United States from Indian soil as Bulganin and Khrushchev had done. Indians had resented the Soviet's bad manners. Chou did condemn the attack on Egypt, but he seldom mentioned Britain and France.

For the most part he confined himself to praise for India and everything Indian. When he saw a group of children perform gymnastics, he said Chinese children could learn from them. When he inspected an Indian laboratory, he said Chinese scientists could learn from Indian scientists. When he saw Indian dancers, he said Chinese dancers could learn from them. But he ran into difficulties when he inspected a milk farm. He had to admit that the Chinese generally don't drink milk. Still, he thought the farm was a good thing—managing to imply that if Chinese ever do acquire the habit, they'll get Indians to teach them how to milk the cows.

Chou constantly stressed that Indians and Chinese have been friends for 2,000 years. History books, of course, suggest that both India and China, before the advent of Europeans, were isolationist; that only three Chinese ever visited India and the two civilizations confronted each other only on neutral soil in Southeast Asia.

Again and again he said: "The solidarity among the nearly one billion people of our two countries will become a gigantic moral and material force in stabilizing the situation in Asia and Africa." In short, these two countries alone, by sheer weight of numbers and despite their economic backwardness, were to set the policies of two continents. He ignored such minor points as differing commitments to totalitarianism and democracy.

BUT lest this arouse fears that China would gang up with India against the smaller nations of Asia, Chou had another line. He told Cambodians that Red China is "resolutely opposed to great nation chauvinism by any nation." And Nepal's Prime Minister Tanka Prasad Acharya returned from a trip to Peking to quote Chou as saying in effect, "You needn't worry about us. We have plenty on our hands for at least 25 years."

One European leader who talked to Nehru reports that Chou insisted he will not even ask for admission to the UN. Chou presumably feels time is on his side; that if he asks now for UN entry, he will have to give something in return, while if he waits, the rest of the world will come to him. Then he will do the asking, and it will be for the rest of the world to pay his price.

New Delhi ARTHUR BONNER

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Government By Leak

"Anonymous sources," not official spokesmen, now give the public the facts.

by RICHARD L. STROUT

On Friday, December 28, the *New York Times* exploded this news:

CONGRESS MAY GET
BIDS TO AUTHORIZE
FORCE IN MIDEAST

Washington bureau chief James Reston thus disclosed "the Eisenhower Doctrine" and cited only "a reliable source."

"Another leak!" muttered Washington correspondents. The sensational news flashed around the globe. Anonymous details and amplification followed. The information was being pushed out methodically and without attribution. On Friday and Saturday the press associations took it over. On Friday evening a small group of privileged reporters gathered in a home off Rock Creek Park and got more news. They decided to hold it for Sunday papers to get a bigger play. On Sunday the *New York Herald Tribune* bannered it in two enormous headlines across the front page:

EISENHOWER PROPOSES TO COMMIT US
TO DEFEND ALL MIDEAST AGAINST SOVIETS

No source given, but in a supplementary story the paper's well-informed columnist, Roscoe Drummond, used the definitive formula, "It can be stated authoritatively."

Who was the "authority"? Identification was complete in 48 hours. The Washington press corps knows these things almost instinctively. The correspondents had met at Dulles' home. So the "Eisenhower Doctrine" was born; although, as columnist Peter Edson drily observed, "the President was playing golf at Augusta, Georgia, at the time, and hadn't uttered a word on the subject."

RICHARD L. STROUT, *a veteran Washington correspondent, is the author of an earlier* New Republic *article on "The President and the Press" (January 11, 1954).*

This was a leak in the grand manner. But what made it even more memorable was that it was the third big leak in a brief time. Let me go over the other two.

Readers of a select group of papers woke up December 14 (just a fortnight before the "Eisenhower Doctrine") to read of a spectacular development. The *Washington Post* bannered it, "US MODIFIES DISARMAMENT PLAN." The *Times* led the paper with this heading:

US REVISES PLAN
ON DISARMAMENT
TO BREAK IMPASSE

No authority given. It forecast, among other things, the American reply to the Bulganin letter and our willingness to modify our past formula for aerial inspection. No question of its authenticity. The leading editorial of the omniscient *Times* stated flatly the day after (December 15) that the "new approach" had "the approval of the President and the National Security Council."

Yet search as he might, the eager Congressman or conscientious student of public affairs could find no specific authority to cite, no exact words to pin with quotation marks, no authorized policymaker to hold responsible.

Most Washington newspapermen, I believe, knew by the evening of that day that Presidential disarmament adviser Harold Stassen had given the news out to an intimate group of half a dozen correspondents. He did so, incidentally, while Cabinet members Dulles and Humphrey were out of town, over in Paris at a NATO meeting.

Now here is the third example. Eight column headlines in the *Washington Post,* Friday, December 7, proclaimed, "NEW AID TO EUROPE STUDIED: GOVERNMENT MAY REVIVE HUGE GIFTS TO ITS ALLIES." The story, like others that appeared with

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it, told of new foreign aid afoot and noted "the Marshall Plan" as a standard of comparison. Attribution—? The *Post* merely cited "top Administration officials."

I would like to emphasize that this report, like the other two, was immensely important. The subject interested every country on earth. It came at a time of world excitement. It was not a petty matter involving some minor political appointment, say, but one of monstrous moment. The source? It wasn't long before Washington generally knew it. Dulles had just returned from Key West and had held a quiet, not-for-attribution conference with a select group.

These three respective anonymous leaks were in each case so important that there then began a slow, seeping journalistic process of publishing the names of the sources. *Time* magazine, for example, on December 31 cited Stassen directly and complained that his report "seemed doubly authoritative" because "in his anonymity [he] had masked himself as the voice of US policy."

Of course anybody who leaks a big story "masks" himself in that "voice" (to re-mix *Time's* metaphor). But who is the Administration voice? Why, the President, of course, when he cares to be. When the President is silent, others speak. Between November 14 and the time I am writing this article (January 12) the President has held no press conference at all. The two-month gap came during a time of cyclonic world turbulence.

THERE are several concomitants of information by leak. Officials avoid responsibility. The stories are generally inflated. The public is confused: arguing with Mr. Anonymous is like arguing with a fog. Often a leak comes from a subordinate to precipitate action which his leader hesitates to take. Again, the device reveals a patronizing attitude to the press as something to be used and manipulated (blood brother, I think, of the State Department attitude that it can punish US correspondents who have entered Red China by revoking their passports). Finally, leaks demoralize the Administration that countenances them.

When Dulles liberated the gift-to-allies trial balloon, Treasury Secretary Humphrey shot it down next day. When he leaked the so-called "Eisenhower Doctrine," the State Department press office knew nothing about it, the US Information Agency knew nothing, the Voice of America knew nothing. They were bewildered. More important, Congress boiled.

When Stassen put out his story, it riled two interested departments, Treasury and State. Each department, it should be understood, jealously watches other departments' leaks. A Treasury "source" called up certain news bureaus to pooh-pooh both the December 7 and the December 14 leaks. One Anon threw down another Anon.

The situation has reached the point where one Washington correspondent who modestly feels he doesn't quite rate a direct Dulles invitation has an arrangement with an assistant (not in the official press section) to be tipped off when an off-the-record occurs. That way he gets a briefing of a briefing. It is information by trial balloon, once removed.

Eisenhower's own attitude is interesting. Pentagon disclosures by feuding Admirals and Generals genuinely anger the President. But he is on record as defending leaks by Cabinet officials under certain circumstances.

IN 1953 the President chose Earl Warren to head the Supreme Court—second highest office in government—and Attorney-General Brownell called in four friendly correspondents (*New York Times, New York Herald-Tribune, Chicago Daily News* and Scripps Howard papers) and gave them the exclusive story. At the subsequent Eisenhower press conference, September 30, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*man Raymond Brandt stormed, "Is it going to be the policy of this Administration to leak such important news to friendly newspapers?"

> I think that I have trusted subordinates who may occasionally leak news for purposes they consider proper [replied the President mildly]. If they do, I don't think I would interfere with them.

This was a calm, definite answer. Washington has had leaks and trial balloons before and always will have them. But this seemed to lay down new ground rules.

Then again, on March 16, 1955, the complete Yalta Papers found their way, mysteriously, into the *New York Times*. The incident produced the last White House conference protest, so far as I know, to the system of information-by-leak. Correspondent Walter Ridder, of the Ridder papers, demanded March 23 if the publication might not "cramp our style" in future diplomatic negotiations? The President optimistically thought not; still more optimistically he said he hoped the material would not be used by partisans at home.

I find it impossible to believe that this recent series of leaks would have been accepted by the press a generation ago. I think the press would have raged over it. I find few things more persuasive of the idea that there has been a change in press attitude than the mild acceptance of this developing dual pattern—decline in press conferences and growth of leaks.

What is the Presidential press conference? The American Society of Newspaper Editors (April, 1955) said that it "has become the unofficial and extra-legal counterpart in the American system of the question period in the British system," though it added that the number of White House and Cabinet press conferences were "far from adequate in the past year." This conception is now generally accepted by students.

The White House press conference is the one opportunity of the public, via the reporter, to ask the President

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questions face to face. Although Eisenhower delivered his Middle East speech to Congress in person, nobody could ask him questions. Contrast the situation in England during the Suez crisis when the matter was aired in Commons 20 separate times, and there was full dress debate or formal explanation on nine or 10 occasions. The British public was kept informed and the government was constantly put on record.

America was directly involved in the affair, too. In fact it might be said that Washington held the key to the world riddle. But from November 1 on, reporters lost contact with the Chief Executive in the sense of being able to ask him questions.

THE matter is broader than the 8 weeks in question. For example, the Associated Press has recently made a comparison of the number of White House press conferences, past and present.

Roosevelt held a total of 998 in 12 years, an average of about 83 a year.

Eisenhower has held only 99 in four years, or about 25 a year.

Cabinet press conferences have diminished even faster than White House gatherings. Almost any week-day under FDR there were a couple of press conferences with Cabinet members. Cordell Hull saw the press five times a week, and most of his colleagues once or twice a week, often once for morning papers and another for afternoon papers.

The alert press watched every move of the Roosevelt Administration like a hawk and demanded, and got, explanations continuously. It was suspicious and aggressive, and it was good for the country.

By contrast the AP has compiled the four-year record of the Cabinet under Eisenhower: Dulles, 79; Wilson, 66; Benson, 46; Summerfield, 37; Brownell, 19; Weeks, 13; McKay, 1; Humphrey, 1. Omitted are the Labor and the Welfare Departments where secretaries changed. Also it is fair to say that some Cabinet officials are easily accessible to individual reporters or, like Humphrey, hold annual specialized budget seminars. But that is not the same thing as regular conferences.

Interior Secretary McKay held only one Washington press conference in four years and when he got back to Oregon to run for the Senate seemed genuinely surprised at the unpopularity of some of his policies. He might have learned a lot if he had regularly put on the gloves with hard-hitting reporters. A conference is a two-way affair in gathering information—a fact which the politicians of the old Roosevelt-Truman Cabinets were more aware of, I think, than the businessmen of the Eisenhower Cabinet.

I believe that a weekly White House press conference is a good thing for democracy; furthermore, that it must be candid and virile even though it is respectful.

I cannot believe that the newspapers in Roosevelt or Truman's day would have permitted a Cabinet member to go a year, let alone four, with only one press conference, or have accepted placidly a two-month gap in White House conferences at a time of world crisis.

What has changed? Is it the press? There have been a lot of newspaper mergers, and perhaps the city with one newspaper produces less aggressive news coverage. But far more important, I think, is the fact that we live in an extraordinary area of Eisenhower goodwill.

Newspapers are less suspicious today. They were distrustful in the Democratic 30's and 40's, but these are the amiable 50's. Most newspapers supported the Eisenhower candidacy in 1952 and 1956, and I suppose it is natural that they are now less watchful of a friend than they would have been of an opponent. Such a political love affair is extraordinary. But for the US press to accommodate itself unprotestingly to a system of leaks and diminished news access is unprecedented.

Then there is an odd ethical question. Whom does government news belong to anyway? Surely it belongs to all the people if it is to be given out at all. It should not to be traded off, like patronage, to selected cronies.

FINALLY the question arises whether the recent leaks helped the Eisenhower policies in Congress. I think that they curiously irritated Congress. They came at a sensitive time, just after the election. When Congressional leaders went to the White House to be briefed on foreign affairs, the news was already in the papers. Politicians were confronted with a partial *fait accompli*. It looked as though Congressmen were being used, just as the press was being used. I have not mentioned the effect of the exaggerated stories on jittery foreign countries. Instead of a strong, steady beam from Washington through the fog and thundering breakers, the murk was illuminated and then made all the darker by a series of exploding flares.

Two Washington correspondents met sometime after the Dulles conference and discussed it in retrospect. They knew they were being used at the time, and had consented to it. They were a little sheepish. Should they have gone along? They might have refused to publish the story without official attribution. But that, they decided (and I think they were right), would have run counter to their profoundest instincts. So long as reporters are born, not made, they will publish the news.

It is for the press as a whole, not the individual reporter, to protest if the rules of the game are being unfairly changed, if leaks succeed straight news, if somebody says reporters can't enter China, if long-fought-for democratic prerogatives are nibbled down. Such a protest in the long run is not lightly dismissed.

An aggressive, jealous press is a first safeguard of democracy. But nobody can save the press if it won't save itself.

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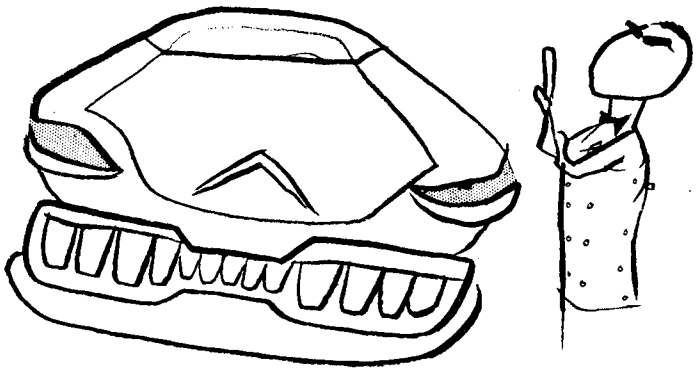
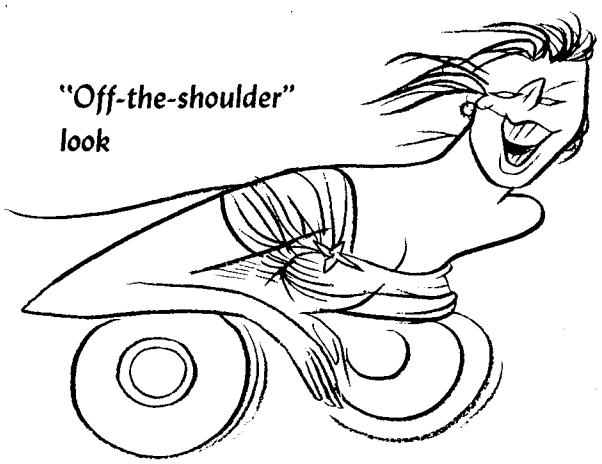
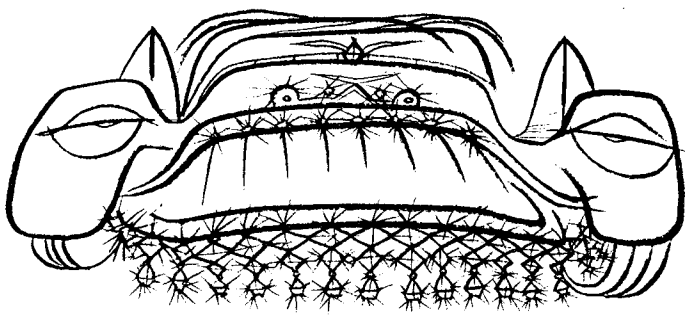
Osborn LOOKS AT THE '57 CARS



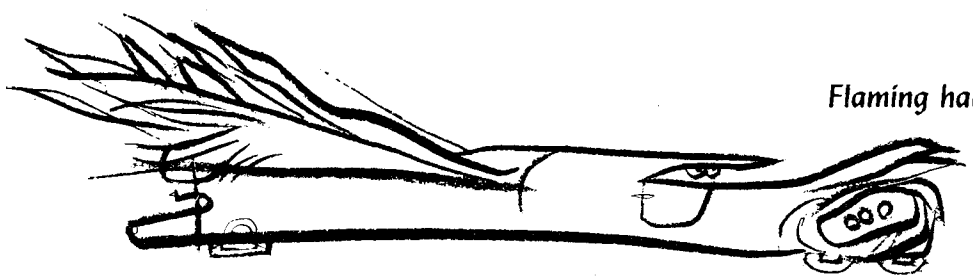
"Nothing in our economic life so well symbolizes our constant desire for perfection and progress as does our annual showing of new models of powerful and comfortable automobiles."—Vice President Nixon, addressing the Automobile Manufacturers Association.



"Off-the-shoulder" look

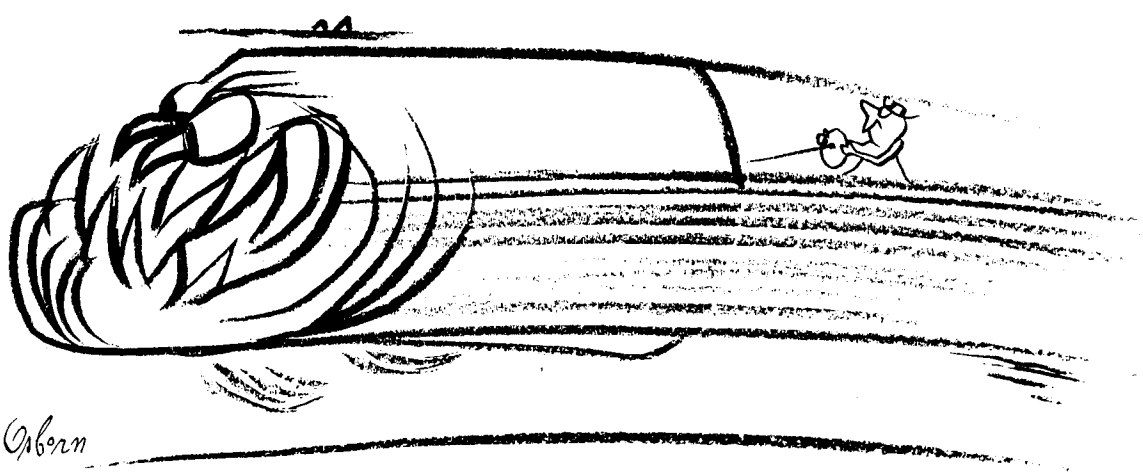


The jeweled look



Flaming haunch

Horsepower



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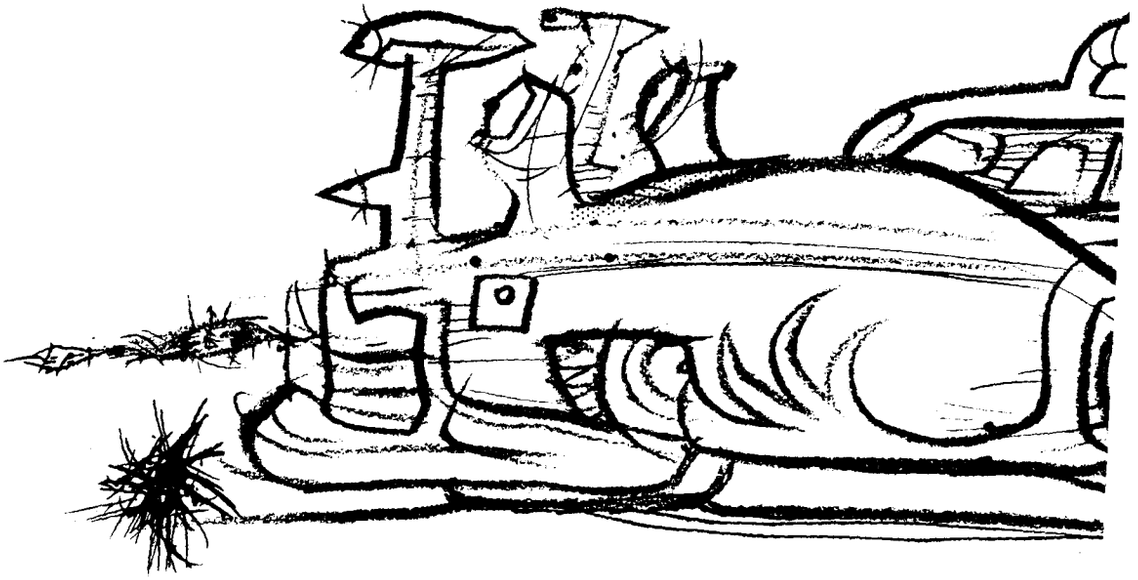
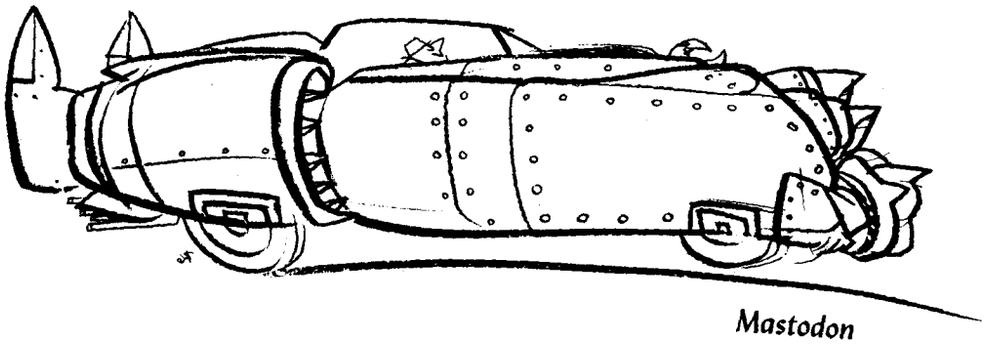
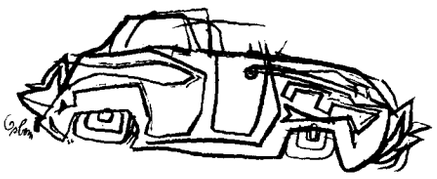
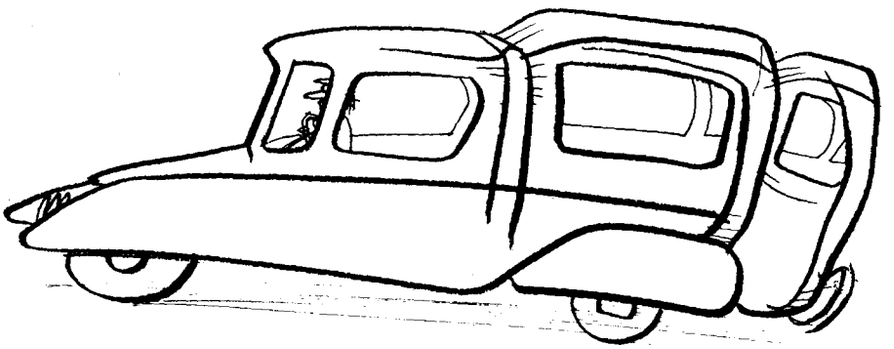




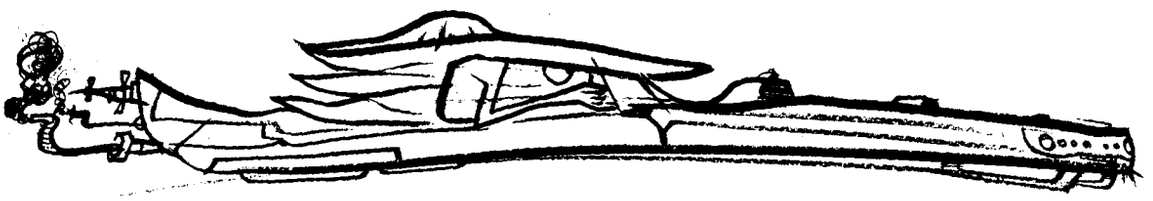
Mastodon



Unclear design



Station wagon



The squeezer

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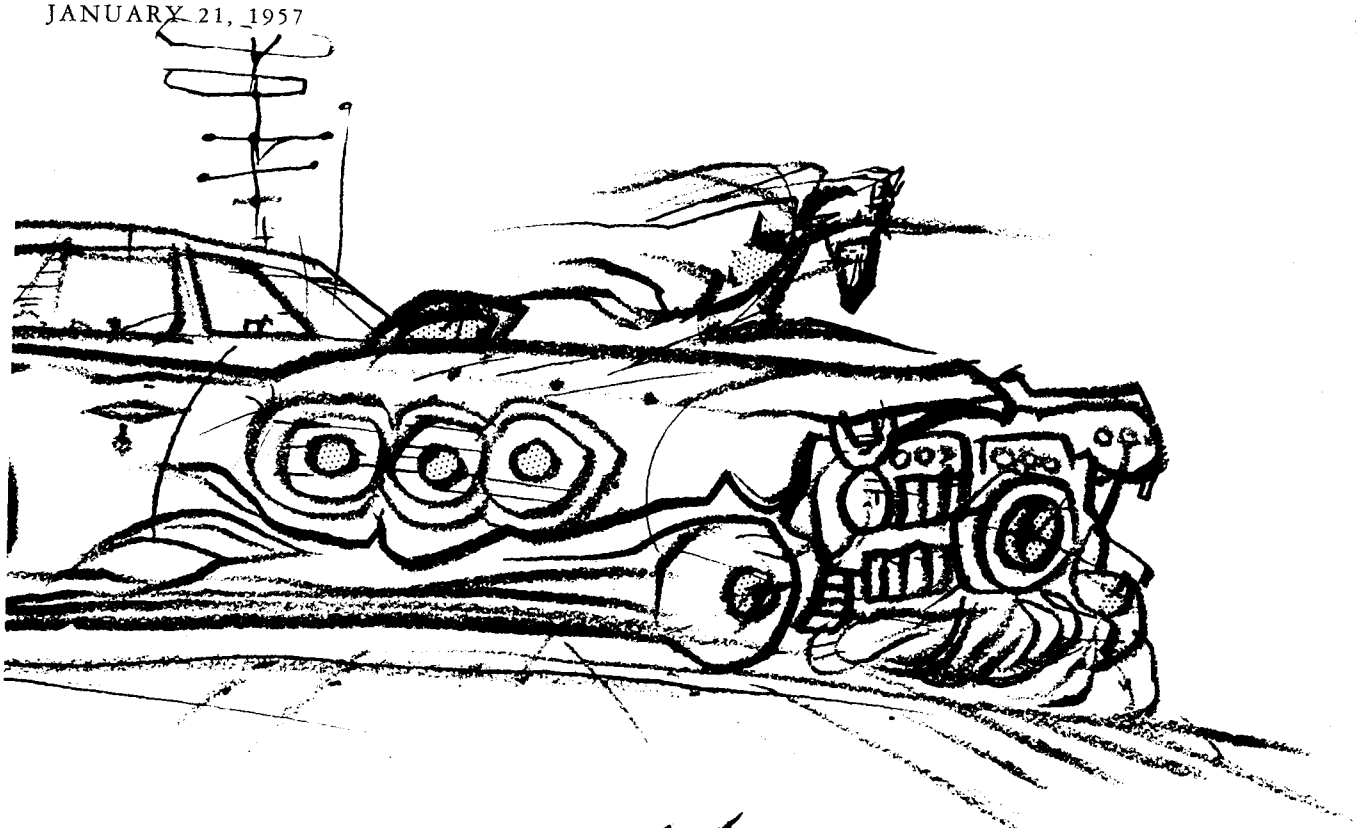
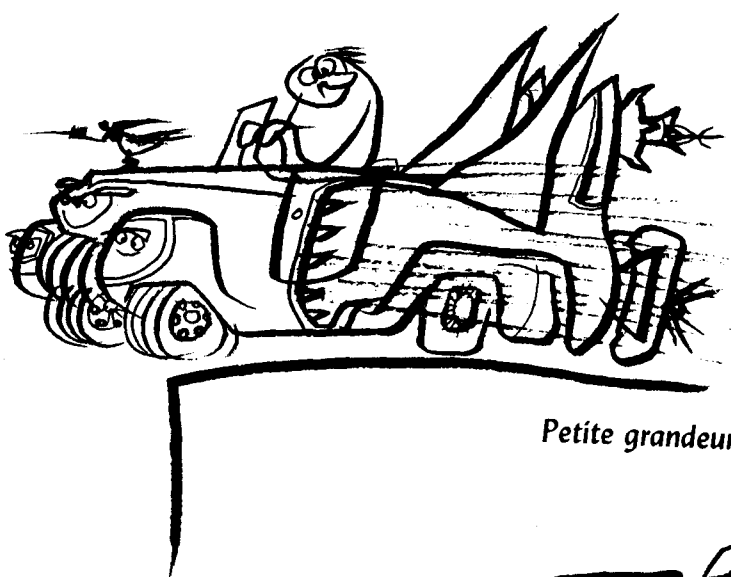
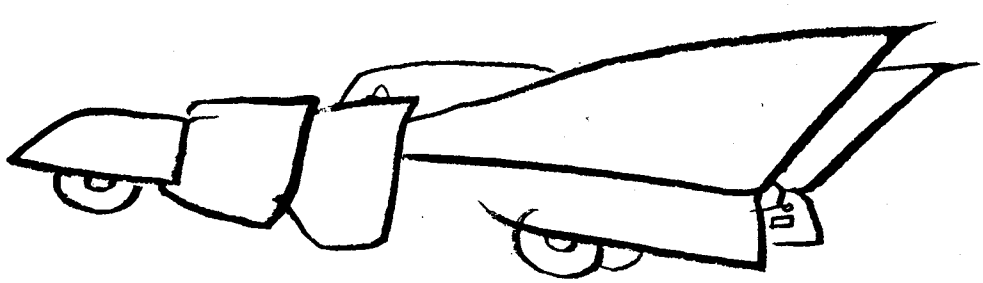




Petite grandeur



Fender evolution

Massive retaliation

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The Superficial Aspect

Ghost of a Chance

IT WAS good journalism that gave the Convocation of the Ghosts in Washington almost half as much attention as the assembling of Congress. I refer, of course, to the meeting that included the late Adlai Stevenson, the late Eleanor Roosevelt, and the late Harry S. Truman, along with the moribund Estes Kefauver and Averell Harriman and various other wraiths from the political burying-ground.

It was good journalism to give the meeting attention because, as the event proved, there was more life in this spectral array than there was in the two Houses of Congress, including both parties and Sen. Frank Lausche. The Ghosts took a definite stand on at least two matters of public interest—a negative stand, it is true, but offering the suggestion that after four spongy years we are perhaps going to have an opposition that does not consist entirely of marshmallows.

The Ghosts were against the filibuster, and they were against any further acceptance of Ike's blowsy rumble-bumble in lieu of a definite and comprehensible foreign policy. Furthermore, and perhaps even more importantly, in the matter of the filibuster they rushed the resolution through in order not to escape but to accept a beating. This offers at least a hint that there is another thing they are against, to wit, peace at any price.

An American political party that is more interested in a program than in the spoils of office is very nearly unthinkable, so it is hardly necessary to point out that the Ghosts are not a party; they are merely an Organized Menace, currently engaged in the stimulating, health-giving exercise of scaring the pants off all parties. But theoretically a party might gradually develop out of their labor—probably within the existing Democratic organization, possibly as an independent movement, as a remote possibility within the Republican Party, after the style of the Western Progressives of Theodore Roosevelt's day.

As to that, time will tell; but as of here and now the resurgence of the Ghosts adds immensely to the interest, and especially to the gaudy humors of the political scene. For instance, they have already pointed up the comedy of the dash of Knights-Errant Eisenhower and Dulles to the rescue of the Arabian damsels theoretically in distress. The idea of the knights-errant was to save them from the clutches of the Monster Bulganin; but it turns out that the idea of the damsels is to escape the clutches of the Monster Dulles, which has led to a certain confusion.

It is to be hoped that they will proceed to examine realistically Ike's singular notion that the way for us to demonstrate the nobility of our ideals and the philanthropy of our hearts is to give a dime to John D. Rockefeller. The President has called for large donations to afford economic relief to the Middle East, which includes Saudi Arabia and Iran, relatively to area and population very rich countries, with millions in black gold spouting out of the ground every day. They don't need a Marshall Plan. They need something more closely adapted to their present situation, that is, something more imaginative than a mere borrowing from George C. Marshall.

The question is, can the Ghosts keep it up? Can they continue to drag discussion of public affairs down from Cloud-Cuckooland to solid earth? I think they can. If you wish to inject a bit of realism into politics, being politically dead is a very considerable advantage. It means that defeats don't count—what does a Ghost lose by being whipped?—and if successive defeats matter not at all eventual success is almost certain.

"No," said the Negro driver of the mule that butted his head into an oak tree three times, "that mule ain't blind; he just don't give a damn."

AS FAR AS personal political ambition is concerned, the late Harry has had his, so he don't give a damn; the late Adlai Stevenson has been definitely and finally denied his, so he don't give a damn; and the late Eleanor never did give a damn anyhow. They are free of the necessity of engaging in the conventional make-believe expected and indeed required of politicians in active practice. Buncombe and bilge cannot possibly serve them in any way, so there is no reason why they should talk anything but sense.

But they are all, in their very different ways, first-rate talkers, so when they talk realism they are certain to be interesting and they may be sensational. They may end by creating the possibility of voting a ticket that is not a fake on the face of it. At this moment both liberals and reactionaries are helpless. A party that contains both Humphrey and Eastland is an obvious fraud, but no more so than one that contains both Javits and McCarthy. If the Associated Shades should start a movement that would result in putting just one straight ticket in the field, they would do more for the country than will be accomplished by 99 percent of the politicians as yet unhung.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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A Touch of Nausea

by LOUIS J. HALLE

EVERY YEAR, with the approach of Mother's Day, the florists' associations and candy manufacturers are moved to public eloquence by the thought of what Mother means to each of us. Reacting to this, one dutiful son telegraphed greetings to his mother "with love and a touch of nausea."

A touch of nausea is what some of us feel when the spokesmen of government announce that the foreign policy for which they are responsible reflects their devotion to moral principle rather than expediency. Just as florists may love motherhood more than money, so politicians may prefer morality to expediency; but the claims that either make cannot stand above suspicion. To the charge of cynicism which such suspicion may arouse one should reply that without it hypocrisy could never be unmasked, sterling could never be distinguished from counterfeit.

When a government identifies its action with moral principle two questions may be asked. One is whether the principle invoked actually did determine the action (whether the florist's motive really was his love of motherhood); the other is whether the principle does in fact represent morality.

* * *

At the end of last October our government took the initiative to have the United Nations administer a humiliating rebuke and a major diplomatic defeat to England, France and Israel for their armed action against Egypt. It explained what it did on grounds of morals and legality, saying that it would be legally untenable for the United States to refrain from opposing illicit and aggressive acts when committed by its opponents but not when committed by its friends. "There can be no law," said President Eisenhower, "if we work to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose, and another for our friends." Much the same point was made by apologists for the government who asserted that we could not have one law for the Asiatic world and another for our own white man's world.

These assertions, though indisputable in themselves, are misleading because they embody an untruth which escapes exposure only by remaining tacit. They assume, tacitly, that the United States had been consistently applying the law to its opponents, or to the Asiatic nations, when suddenly that same law was transgressed by its own European kin. The logical flaw which this represents is most famous in the hypothetical example of the question which tacitly assumes a man has been beating his wife.

At the same time that England, France and Israel used force against Egypt, the Soviet Union used force against Hungary. It is quite true that our government promoted a condemnation by the United Nations of the Soviet action no less vigorous than its condemnation of the Anglo-French action. But it also, by hard deliberate pressure, forced an Anglo-French retreat, while it properly shrank from the far greater danger that would have been involved in trying to force a Soviet retreat.

This does not, in itself, destroy the case for the morality of our action. If we had had such power over the Russians as enabled us to bring our allies to heel we would surely have used it. Our government can say that it enforced the law where it was able to enforce it, on our friends, but that it was unable to enforce it on our opponent. One must not hold it accountable beyond the limits of its power.

Granting this, the larger question remains whether we had established a precedent and a pattern of enforcement by which we were simply abiding when the morality at issue implicated our own allies. Specifically, is it true that we had been enforcing the law against the Asiatic states?

Against the Communist states in Asia we had certainly been doing our best—witness Korea and, in a limited sense, Indo-China. But we did not undertake to enforce it when, in 1948, India invaded and conquered Hyderabad. We did not invoke it in Kashmir, where India was surely not guiltless of aggression. And, above all, we did not enforce it against the Arab states which forcibly opposed the decision of the UN, right or wrong, that a Jewish homeland should be established in their midst.

When Egypt, in clear violation of her commitments and in defiance of the United Nations, excluded from the Suez Canal all shipping that served Israel, we did not bring pressure to bear on her. On the contrary, we continued to give her economic and military assistance, which we planned to increase. When Egypt conducted armed raids into Israeli territory and prepared for the day when she might conquer Israel, we refrained from urging enforcement actions that would have set all Asia against us. Here enforcement was not virtually impossible, as in the case of Hungary, but it was inexpedient.

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In the light of these facts is it proper to say that, in forcing the Anglo-French retreat, we were simply applying to our European friends a policy of enforcement which we had theretofore been applying to our opponents and to the nations of Asia? Or would it be more accurate to say that we could afford to enforce the law on our friends and clients, who were at our mercy—that we might even profit in Asia by doing so—while we could not afford to enforce it against the Soviet Union in Hungary, and the price of enforcing it against the uncommitted peoples of Asia would be higher than we found it expedient to pay?

One might formulate a general principle for such situations: *The more partial or selective law enforcement is, the less moral authority it can properly claim.* A law enforced only against Democrats, exempting Republicans, would not be worthy of respect. When justice lets the bandage slip from its eyes it loses authority. Our enforcement of the law in the case under consideration appears to have been deliberately selective. The suspicion therefore remains that, whether we acted rightly or wrongly, considerations of law and morality were not, by themselves, determinative of our policy.

THE second question is whether the principle invoked to justify the action does in fact represent morality. This is tricky, and I mean to do no more here than express a large doubt.

Only extremists among us would say that it is always improper to use force in support of national interests. Most of us accept the doctrine of self-defense: if our vital interests are attacked we may defend them, even by force if there is no other way. The distinction between aggression and defense is implicit in this doctrine, but not at all easy to define in practical terms or to apply in practical situations. If a band of thugs surround my home, with apparent aggressive intent, must I wait until they actually invade my property and fire my house before I take action against them? If they merely raid my apple-trees is the trespass too slight to warrant my use of force? Under such circumstances, am I the aggressor if I attack?

Or again, if someone asserts his private sovereignty over a public highway on the unrestricted use of which I depend, and the public authorities show themselves unable or unwilling to frustrate him, am I the aggressor if I force the issue with him? Some would say I should wait until he actually blocks my use of the highway. But if he is free to choose his own time, as well as his method, I may find that I have waited too long. What shall I do?

The case of the public highway represents the situation that the English and French faced when Colonel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. In however blundering a fashion, they appealed to the international community, first in a couple of *ad hoc* conferences, then in the United Nations. They may have concluded from this experience, quite plausibly, that the international community was proving unwilling or unable to protect them. When the legitimate agencies of law enforcement fail to protect the vital interests of important elements in the community, lynch-law manifests itself. When the British and French attacked, however, it seemed clear to the world that they were guilty of aggression. Their sin of commission, as is always the case, was far more vivid to the public than any sins of omission which preceded.

WHETHER the English and French were guilty of primary aggression is a question that does not lend itself meaningfully to a yes-or-no answer. When mutual reprisals mount over a period of time from ancient beginnings it is generally useless to ask who started it. The case is somewhat the same here. What is significant, however, is that something called "world opinion" was quite generally convinced that the English and French were guilty of flagrant aggression. Nasser's Egypt, as the victim, was able to wear the victim's air of injury.

Here is where the identification of what is moral and legal comes in. Something must stand as authority behind any law, whether it is the brute power of enforcement in the case of positive law, the divine sanction of natural law, or the tradition that supports customary law. In our time world opinion has come to be accepted, almost without question, as the authority for what is right and lawful. Whoever flies in its face—as it expresses itself in newspaper and radio comment, in the words of political leaders, above all through the procedures of the United Nations—commits a moral outrage.

Is it possible, however, that world opinion might be wrong in particular cases? I really don't see how any student of history could deny it. Public opinion on a continental or national scale, at least, has repeatedly been carried away by irrational passions or delusions, has shown itself uninformed, unsophisticated, lacking in perspective, unappreciative of responsibility, or it has been victimized by self-serving demagogues. None of us, today, would feel any reverence for the opinion of that large part of the French public which, in 1848, elected Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to office under the impression that he was the great Napoleon himself. Few of us would put implicit confidence in a consensus of world opinion on the nature of God's will. Are we more justified in accepting such a consensus on the intricate knot of circumstances which constitute the Suez case? Perhaps we do have to rely on public opinion as the best guide available to general actions involving the large community, blind as that opinion may often be. I merely raise a doubt and pose a dilemma.

From the point of view of the practicing statesman, the great weakness of public opinion is its reluctance to recognize practical problems and the necessity of their solution. It is prone to urge policies that reflect general prin-

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ciples while ignoring the practical circumstances involved. Such opinion hounds democratic governments with advice which may be wonderfully moral but which leaves them with their problems unsolved or aggravated. It is no wonder that a morality which overlooks the requirements of the problem sometimes seems cheap to those who, bearing the responsibility, are not free to overlook them. Any of us can think of fine moral policies. Few of us can think of policies that will work, though the alternative may be disaster on the grand scale.

In the period before the Anglo-French resort to arms, world opinion generally opposed any compulsion of President Nasser, whether by arms, by the threat of arms, or by action in the economic field. After appearing at first to favor an active policy for solving the problem, our own government succumbed to every politician's desire to align himself with public opinion. (This also was the dreamway of inertia, the enticing path of least resistance.) Our leaders won popularity by saying what kind of actions they were opposed to, on moral grounds, or by advocating reliance on the moral suasion of world opinion, while leaving the English and French leaders to deal with the problem as best they might. Colonel Nasser was publicly informed that he could, with impunity, be intransigent in negotiation. It is hardly a secret that the English and French leaders regarded this as a betrayal on our part to which they reacted in anger and desperation. We all know that they should not have done this. What few of us know (and I am not one of them) is what they should have done.

THE dilemma of the British and French was that, if they acceded to world opinion, Colonel Nasser would almost surely be confirmed in the *fait accompli* which threatened their vital interests. For world opinion, abhorring drastic uses of power, tends to favor the *status quo* in these situations. If an ambitious leader can suddenly upset the *status quo* by a coup on Saturday night (that is always the best time), then he is in the excellent position of having a new *status quo* for world opinion to protect on Sunday morning. World opinion said that, if this new *status quo* was to be changed, then it must be done by negotiation in which only moral pressure was used—the kind of moral pressure that was supposed to drive the Japanese from Manchuria, Hitler from the Rhineland, and Mussolini from Ethiopia. Confronted by this, the English and French apparently thought they, too, would try the tactic of the *fait accompli*. This was a major mistake, as the slowness of their military movement and the reflex action of the United States proved. But the question remains: what should they have done if it was impossible for them to accept Nasser's new *status quo?*

The French people have been either more indifferent or more realistic than the English-speaking peoples in their appreciation of the situation. Certainly the articulate sections of British opinion immediately concentrated on moral principles, which they equated with world opinion, and continued to keep their eyes closed to the practical problem. Even such an intellectually sophisticated editorial page as that of the *Manchester Guardian* appeared to accept the vote of 64 to five, by which the General Assembly condemned the Anglo-French actions, as if it had been the voice of superhuman authority.

BUT in human terms, what did these 64 votes represent? Look down the list. A fair proportion of them, surely, represented rather small, primitive governments, with foreign offices composed of a handful of well-meaning (perhaps) but uninformed officials, isolated in relatively remote parts of the globe, not really understanding what was involved. Or it represented the uninstructed decision of single delegates in New York, taken by each one on his own in default of a home government equipped to analyze the situation and issue responsible instructions. (Somebody said that the issue was "colonialism," just as somebody said that Louis Napoleon was the little corporal himself.) It is sheer mysticism to say that it represented the people in most of these countries. The people knew nothing of Suez or its economic importance. With respect to a large part of the world the vote did not even emerge from the processes of representative democracy. This is the human reality, as opposed to the mystique which causes so many of us to regard world opinion as sanctified and infallible.

Whatever the real moral authority of world opinion under the circumstances, our government rode with it. This was productive of credit in the eyes of the world. I am not unappreciative of what we, as a nation, have gained by a course of action which has cast such a shadow on the future of our European allies. Our European allies have had no acceptable alternative to their association with us, so that we could seemingly risk the sacrifice of their interests. But the uncommitted nations of Asia have had an alternative with which they have threatened us. Now our position with them is, for the moment at least, much better than it was. I doubt whether this gain, even if durable, is worth a cost which includes the catastrophic weakening of our Atlantic coalition, the salvation of Colonel Nasser's grip on Suez, and perhaps the rescue of Russia's new and increasingly dominant position in Egypt and Syria; but in this dangerous world one must not scorn such a gain. In itself it is good. If, now, we can address ourselves successfully to solving the practical problems of the Canal and of Israel's relations with her neighbors—problems which have not gone away—we may be able to recoup some of the cost. The only point I have to make in this article is that, in all decency, we should not undertake to justify the policy which has brought all this about by the claim that it represented a preference for principle over expediency.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Reading of Reality

by Hans Meyerhoff

AFTER her premature, partly self-induced death in 1943, at the age of 33, Simone Weil became a legendary figure. She presented, as T. S. Eliot observed, "a difficult, violent, and complex personality"; but she commanded attention as a fascinating phenomenon of our age: a puzzling mixture of a passionate soul and an intellectual genius, of a working woman in the fields and factories and an aristocratic ascetic,

The Notebooks of Simone Weil (Putnam; two volumes, $10).

of a political soldier and almost a religious saint. But legends are short-lived; today a special effort is required—like the publication of these notebooks, two volumes of over six hundred pages—to bring the name of Simone Weil briefly back into the pages of a casual review.

Unlike ordinary journals, these notebooks are strangely impersonal. They are a private document only in the sense that they record one person's persistent labors in pursuit of faith and spiritual salvation. Since these, presumably, are goals from which our world expects a new lease on life, the notebooks will be hailed and praised; but they will find few readers. The struggle they depict is so desperate, the suffering they reveal is so intense, the intellectual demands they make are so severe that few readers will be equal to the conditions which Simone Weil laid down for a "reading" of life and reality.

"Reading" had a special technical meaning for her. The world is a community of "readings." We bring to reality our own "readings," our own interpretations and perspectives, our own visions and blindspots. "The real difficulty," therefore, is "to choose from among the readings." Simone Weil's choice was as difficult as it was unconditional. She read the world and her own existence as signs of divine grace and love. For her this was the only true reading of reality. Every other reading was delusion, self-deception, and sin. Every other reading doomed man to the chained, illusory existence of Plato's "cave" or to the world of "The Great Beast," as she called the fallen state of man.

It was a difficult choice; for the reading of human reality as a code message of God's infinite love entailed infinite paradoxes and sufferings: "Extreme justice combined with the appearance of extreme injustice . . ."; "God both One and three . . ."; "Christ both God and Man . . ."; "The Host both earthly matter and the body of God . . ."—these are a few of the familiar paradoxes of the Christian faith. But for Simone Weil, as for Kierkegaard, the whole world is rent to shreds by contradiction. "Contradiction is our path leading toward God because we are creatures, and because creation itself is a contradiction." Or

> Our life is nothing but impossibility, absurdity. Each thing that we desire is in contradiction with the conditions or the consequences attaching to that thing; each assertion that we make implies the contrary assertion; all our feelings are mixed up with their opposites. The reason is that we are made up of contradiction, since we are creatures, and at the same time God, and at the same time infinitely other than God.

Simone Weil's *credo* was but another affirmation of faith born of an infinite despair at the contradictoriness and absurdity of the human condition.

The most poignant contradiction for her was that between human suffering and evil, on the one hand, and an absolute faith in divine love and perfection, on the other; for she suffered, and responded to all forms of suffering and evil, with an agonizing intensity; and faith alone could redeem the wretchedness of our lives on earth. "Suffering, I will never admit that Thou art an evil, whatever Thou mayest do to me." Relentless necessity, misery, distress, the crushing burdens of poverty and exhausting labor, cruelty, torture, violent death, terror, disease—all these were mysterious cryptograms of divine love for Simone Weil. Her life was, as it were, crucified upon the cross of these contradictions.

And thus she came to live in two worlds—one consigned to the physical force of gravity, to brute necessity, pain, evil and sin; the other endowed with divine grace, love, beauty, and redemption. And all her thoughts and passions were bent upon making the movement from one to the other, of building a bridge, a mystic ladder on which she could climb out of the wretchedness of this life into life everlasting. They were so far apart, these two lives, "God and creation are infinitely distant from each other—" that her "Waiting for God" appeared hopeless without the helping hand of a mediator. "The world was uninhabitable"; her own existence was a "void" without the mediation of Christ.

THE mystery of his incarnation reconciled the enormous contradiction between divine love and human suffering. The story of his passion relieved "the dark night" of her soul consumed by an unfulfilled longing for love. For in this life love was always doomed; it was always carnal desire in the service of "The Great Beast." But the defects and defeats of human love were but signs conforming the reality of a perfect love of God who suffered and redeemed the fate of man. Christ was the supreme incarnation; but there were others. The notebooks reveal how Simone Weil searched everywhere for signs of divine incarnation and mediation, *i.e.*, for the descent of God's love into this world—in the religions of India, Egypt and Greece, in the philosophy of Plato, even in Norse and Celtic mythology.

Perfect love was to be found in God only; but perfect beauty she found in nature, in music, in the arts, and in mathematics. Insofar as there is any "natural theology" in these notebooks, it is a vindication of God in terms of beauty; and for this purpose, mathematics (in which she was as much at home as in the classics, philosophy, and theology) provided Simone Weil with an interest-

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ing argument from analogy. Mathematics reconciled strict logical necessity with perfect beauty. Thus, by analogy, it became, in her mind, a symbol for showing how an absolute, inexorable necessity—which, from our human perspective, produced nothing but sin and suffering—might coincide, from a divine perspective, with absolute beauty and perfection.

Suffering the contradictions of human existence, accepting the brute necessities and evils of this world, and clinging passionately to the faith that these sufferings, contradictions, and evils were gifts of an infinitely good and loving God—these were the spiritual readings of reality in Simone Weil's life. They entailed a life of extreme self-laceration:

> Everything which is in me, without exception, is absolutely valueless . . . Everything which I appropriate becomes immediately valueless . . . All that I am is leprosy . . . Even if one could be like unto God, it would be preferable to be a handful of mud that is obedient to God.

It would be easy to invoke current stereotypes in order to explain the indulgence in self-flagellation and the longing for death which run through these pages; but even if we accept these phenomena as the price for saintliness, it is not inappropriate to note at least one extremely painful consequence of this excess of self-mortification. Like Marcion, Simone Weil was also driven to reject the Old Testament; but this religious repudiation of her Jewish heritage led to violent denunciations which must have terribly intensified her own inner sufferings at a time when the Jews were undergoing the worst tortures in history:

> The Jews—that handful of uprooted individuals—have been responsible for the uprooting of the whole terrestrial globe. . . . They were too carnal-minded for any other God except Jehovah. . . . The history of Israel begins with a prostitution. It is Israel's original impurity. . . . To speak of "God as educator" in connection with this people is a heinous sort of joke. Is it surprising that there should be so much evil in a civilization—our own—which is corrupted in its roots, in its very inspiration, by this atrocious lie? The curse of Israel weighs upon Christendom. The atrocities, the extermination of heretics and of unbelievers, all this was Israel. Capitalism was Israel. . . . Totalitarianism is Israel (more particularly so among the latter's worst enemies).

Surely, this is self-hatred *in extremis;* surely, it is not inappropriate to ask whether this woman, consumed by the purging fires of salvation, did not also mishear the voices of demons for the silence of God.

Psyche's Double-Exposure

by Robert Parris

TOY SOLDIERS and cardboard characters can be useful literary props, being above motivations, causal relationships, and any obligation or compulsion to be consistent. Mr. Lewis has contrived a symbolic novel without a real person in it. While equations are hard to find for some of his symbols, his work provides enough enjoyable reading, in spite of its essential alogicality, and (unless the symbols *are* equated) its irrelevancy to human existence. This is unscience fiction with science fiction characters, names and all—playing cards from a world called Glome, lined up to play their parts.

Till We Have Faces, by C. S. Lewis (Harcourt, Brace; $4.50).

Till We Have Faces is a myth retold, the myth of Cupid and Psyche, the best known version of which is found in *The Golden Ass* of Lucius Apuleius. According to the old story, Psyche, the youngest of three daughters, was so beautiful and altogether goddess-like that suitors were impossible to find—human ones at least; her father, hopeless, following Apollo's pronouncement, exposed her on a mountain to be devoured by a dragon. Venus, however, was too jealous of Psyche's beauty to let the mortal get by that easy, and asked Cupid to see to it that her rival was to fall in love with a scoundrel. Cupid, about to follow orders, was so dazzled by the beauty of his intended victim, that wanting her for himself, he ordered the West Wind to carry her to his palace. Cupid visited her every night, but refused to let her see his face. This arrangement lasted until Psyche, tormented by her sisters into trying to discover what her lover looked like, finally succeeded, whereupon Cupid disappeared, but eventually provided for the death of Psyche's two jealous sisters. Venus wasn't through with her daughter-in-law, however, and set her on impossible missions of atonement; Cupid finally intervened and forgave his disobedient bride, as his mother forgave them both.

In the retelling of this story, Lewis has turned it into a Christian parable. He has altered the intimate god-to-man relationship into something more austere and distant and has therefore left the ending unnarrated, the rewards and punishments of his characters presumably being still meted out. According to the author,

> . . . the central alteration in my own version consists in making Psyche's palace invisible to normal, mortal eyes—if "making" is not the wrong word for something which forced itself upon me, almost at my first reading of the story, as the way the thing must have been. This change of course brings with it a more ambivalent motive and a different character for my heroine and finally modifies the whole quality of the tale.

One of the difficulties inherent in injecting into a pagan myth values which are essentially extraneous to it is determining the extent to which the parallels should be carried. The temptation, after one has realized that Mr. Lewis' book is a sort of tract, is to find theological inferences where perhaps none were intended. It seems to me that the peculiar dissatisfaction one has, after having read *Till They Have Faces*, is due mostly to the frustration of not being able to decide who is who and what is what. It may very well be that this particular piece of pagan literature does not lend itself to retelling in Christian terms—that the classic skeleton is a more fragile piece of apparatus than Mr. Lewis supposed, and that too many bones had to be broken to get it into its new box. It may be that Lewis

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accomplished what he set out to do, but many people will feel tricked (as many surely did on reading his fantasy *Out of the Silent Planet*) into being forced to face up to issues they had no intention of meeting when they set out to read a new piece of fiction.

Surely, a book which expands an old tale of this sort so elaborately, has ample chance to enhance the dramatic qualities of the original in such a way that it might stand on its own as a piece of sheer story-telling; yet the sections most saturated with the Message seem to get in the way and slow down the narration.

In point of style, the diction has its ups and down, but its very inconsistency saves it from becoming offensive for any great length. If the reader can put up with such passages as "Quick, quick! Ah, you filthies! Come and be cleaned and then to the King," he should have a fairly good time.

Five to the Fifth Power

by William Carlos Williams

CHARLES BELL, in *Delta Return*, has written a book of poems reminiscent of the old, classic South—extremely appealing to me, for some reason, though I am not from the same country. This might as well be a sonnet sequence, yet it is not, but regular, a series of five-foot, five-line stanzas, five of them to a poem, five poems to a bracket, the brackets in series of five, forming books, let us say, three in all. So it is a three sided figure (a delta) of fives to the fifth power. That is form with a vengeance. The meter is iambic, but sufficiently varied to give no feeling of monotony. The poems are regularly ordered as everything else in the old South was, yet sometimes violent under a suave, even elegant surface.

Delta Return, by Charles G. Bell (Indiana; $2.75).

The virtue of these poems is their inner violence—what they represent of a man's resentment of what he has to withstand of what goes on in the university cities and capitals in our polite world. An amazing freedom of name-calling, colloquial diction and particularly descriptive passages relating to the very trees and beasts and rivers of his chosen locale which he has been lovingly familiar with since boyhood enriches the text of the recital. Once in a while he lapses into a philosophic and scholarly mood which I personally could well do without, but when he eases himself into some such theme as a boy climbing about the branches of a tree and glimpsing the sky above, few passages in recent verse can give me the feeling of soaring into the unknown I feel then.

Many men from the South remember their mothers with particular poignancy. With infinite gentleness Bell has remembered his own mother, her domestic ways and their relationship to the changing world that surrounded the entire family. In one of the sections, the picture of his mother in an apron, looking out of the window or going out among the trees, has left a vague blur on my memory, something indefinable of the women of the South, which I shall never forget.

The poems themselves are precise, even scholarly. They are rather aristocratic in feeling. What can you expect from a man come out of that background? It shows in Charles Bell's entire concept of what a poem should be, his mastery of the form.

This is a book of poems that strikes a high mark among writers in America. It is a book that will appeal to many readers of orderly habits. Don't be surprised at the vigor of the feelings and gentleness of touch you will find here.

The Hypnotic Ring

by Jay Leyda

THE poems of *Folio Two* may have been composed in recent years, yet they have the voices of two separated ages. Here are the poems of a young body, and standing next to them, the poems of a mature mind. The young poems (chiefly in the second part of the book) pull you into their hypnotic circles; "Now Lord Protect Me" is the incantation of a bewitched love, turning, bowing, kneeling—it requires an effort of will to break from its compulsive beat. Shunning the standard practice of cloaking the actuality of an event in significance, Marcella duPont finds her pleasure in the very specific; her poems of love and the death of love are set in an explicit, almost tangible landscape, a powerful fleshly setting for the emotion that moves across it:

> We entered blasted land where cracked rocks sprout
> Their cutting edge, and stony stumps with bark
> Like broken iron, leave night their blacker mark.

Sometimes a lyric is called a "ballad," and this is sung not under a sky but a ceiling; here the walls and furniture are as real and Dickinsonian as the sun of other poems.

The mature poems (most of the sonnets) have stepped outside the hypnotic ring to look back—always with sympathy and with increased comprehension—at the appeals and doubts and attractions circling there. These appraisals of crisis are usually calm, but not always: there are sudden shivers of anxiety—and it may be these nervous breaks that justify her use of the sonnet form that otherwise might have been too smooth an instrument for her. These are the poems that the reader of the book will read oftenest, and it is from these that the further work of this poet will grow. Her sonnets have a breadth in contrast to the sharp edges of the "world poems" at the end of the book. You are slashed by the ideas and apt expression of these—and then you turn back to the warm poems of self that open the book.

Poems: Folio Two, by M. M. duPont (Spiral; $3).

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FILMS

The Crass Menagerie

SPEAKING in a general way, there are three types of movies: good movies, bad movies and banned movies. As the last named always makes money, I think the topic is worthy of analysis.

1. SUBJECT-MATTER — Homosexuality, nymphomania, prostitution, alcoholism, dope addiction, religion are all good subjects; but best of all is Sex. It is at once interesting and easy to pronounce. Messrs. Williams and Kazan, accordingly, have made the hero of *Baby Doll* fat, balding and consumed by Lust and the villain slim, greasy and also something of a lecher.

2. TREATMENT OF SUBJECT-MATTER—Unlike the stag movie, the banned movie likes to think of its subject as a "problem," if possible as a Universal Problem. Thus the man in *Baby Doll* whose wife won't sleep with him is really Everyman whose wife won't sleep with him.

3. CHARACTERS—(a) *female*. She must, of course, have nice eyes; but most important for the heroine of a banned movie is that she be a little peculiar. Baby Doll, a grownup woman who sleeps in a crib, sucks her thumb and *lives* for ice-cream cones, more than fulfills this prerequisite; (b) *male*. Any real sleazy type will do here. But he must be "weak" or foreign-born.

4. PLOT—The plot should be simple, but improbable. Here is *Baby Doll*'s: Baby Doll marries Archie Lee, who is twice her age, on the condition that he not "touch her" until she reaches her twentieth birthday. The film opens two days before this birthday, and we find Baby Doll something less than eager to leave her teens. When a van arrives and takes away all the furniture that Archie has not been able to keep payments up on, Baby Doll says Aha, "No forniture, no deayall." Archie racks his brains, and finally hits on the expedient of setting fire to his rival's cotton mill. The wheels of tragedy are now in motion, for the rival is a Sicilian and Sicilians are (of all peoples) least given to turning the other cheek. Silva Vecarro, or "the Wop" as the villagers call him, revenges himself in short order. Not only does he extract from Baby Doll a written affidavit of her husband's guilt, but also takes a nap in her crib. This gives rise in Archie's mind to all manner of suspicions. The picture ends on a note of hope. Archie goes out of his mind, Vecarro goes his way, and Baby Doll stands wondering with her aunt in the doorway, what will become of them-all?

5. SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE—While this aspect isn't absolutely necessary, it's always nice. The high class films always use it. What is involved is (a) the old order and (b) the new order. The old order is usually some Venerable Tradition on its last legs, while the new order is Crass Materialism. As *Baby Doll* demonstrates, the old need not be a jot better than the new. Archie, as the last representative of a long line of respectable White Trash is, I assume, supposed to have a slight edge over Vecarro and his brand of modern ruthlessness, but really it's a tossup.

6. COSTUMES AND SETS — No effort should be spared in making the costumes look like hell. Everything must literally be slept in, and the wrong size. The sets ought to convey a feeling of dreamlike squalor. This is best accomplished by removing all furniture that isn't symbolic, leaving only the table, bed, stove, icebox and spotlight. Outdoor sets consist simply of some unfashionable section of town or country. The feeling at all times is one of pure poetry.

JANET WINN

Notes on Contributors

HANS MEYERHOFF is on the Philosophy faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles. ROBERT PARRIS is a free-lance writer. WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS has just received the American Academy's poetry fellowship. JAY LEYDA, author of *The Melville Log,* is doing research for a new work on Dickinson. JANET WINN is a new critic.

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TELEVISION

Prokofiev on the Battle Field

It would be a pleasure to describe the NBC Opera Theatre's American premiere of Prokofiev's *War and Peace* as "long-awaited." In fact, a good many operas have been awaited longer. The curious thing about this one is that nobody seems to know very much about it. The Library of Congress does not have a score of the work and doubts that one can be had. A "newly-revised version" was used for the TV production, but who did the revising and whether it consists of anything more ambitious than extensive cutting is not clear. The most one can say for sure is that this version is not top-drawer Prokofiev.

It's hard to see why a man of Prokofiev's urbanity would consider *War and Peace,* of all things, suitable material for the musical stage. Nobody ever read *War and Peace* for the story; and, stripped down to the barest essentials, the story isn't all that good. Prokofiev, unable (because of the limitations of his medium) to delineate his characters and to explain their motivations, gives us a parody of the novel. And with the plethora of characters that Tolstoy provides, it isn't easy to remember who are the good guys and who are the bad ones.

But even if a good opera could have been made of *War and Peace,* Prokofiev should have realized that he was not the man to make it. Usually, he was aware of his very limited emotional range; he stayed away from the profundities, and developed his marvelous knack for the ironic. Here (as in *Romeo and Juliet*) where his text forces him to deal with a heart-broken young girl, he fidgets.

It is only during the war scenes that the composer seems interested enough to let his imagination off the leash. We should remember, I suppose, that Prokofiev's music was always getting him in trouble with the law in his later years, and that perhaps it was only in war scenes that he could make a lot of unorthodox noise without being accused of formalism by the Soviet press. Whatever the reason, it is only in the war scenes that we get a glimpse of the lively harmonist and orchestrator that Prokofiev was when he was at his best. It is in the war scenes, too, that we get some decent melody; there are a few fetching choruses of the Stout Hearted Men genre. Aside from these, and some dances in the early sections, the piece appears to be a tuneless wonder. Could it be that the reviser of this version deliberately cut out all the music? Or did Prokofiev panic at the prospect of writing for singers? In view of Prokofiev's uninhibited outpouring of melody in virtually all of his instrumental works, there is no reasonable explanation as to why two-and-a-half hours of his *War and Peace* should offer less melodic material than he would have normally exhausted in a twenty minute suite.

Since the NBC Opera Company presented a musically and visually sumptuous production of a modern work which I would have hated to miss, I hesitate to appear insensitive to a good cause by inquiring why it chose to produce a piece that had to be cut by half—especially since the half that was left (boring as music, incomprehensible as theatre) seemed more an indictment of the composer than a demonstration of his skill. In the past, the directors of this company seem to have taken the absence of melodic profile (here and in *Amahl* and *Billy Budd*) as the hallmark of sincerity and the modern spirit. By ignoring the whole of neoclassicism (including the tuneful operas of Stravinsky and Milhaud as well as the great Hindemith of *Mathis der Maler* and *Cardillac*), they may very well convince the American public that the best modern composers don't know how to write for voice. And if it is their intention to spend all this money and go to all this trouble only to give us modern music at its pedestrian worst, I don't see why we should play games with them, or to pretend that their willingness to take a financial loss is proof of their artistic respectability.

My guess is that, here, the producers took *War and Peace* only because an insufferable film (based on "a novel by L. Tolstoy") had revived popular interest in that protracted classic.

ROBERT EVETT

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Correspondence

(*Continued from page 3*)

tates have a similar story; but I do now that when you talk about Democratic Leadership — 1957 Model, you have to reckon with Texas and with the machine the two Congressional leaders from Texas represent.

To justify my charge that the Democratic National Committee has built and sustained the leadership which now waits cheerfully for a Republican President to give it a program I offer a swift run down of the past 12 years. Bear in mind that up to the death of FDR both Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn were strong Roosevelt men, though both sagged a bit at the fourth term.

Taking 1944: Democrats bolted the state convention controlled by the anti-Roosevelt group; organized a separate convention; selected a full delegation of Democrats to go to the National Convention and nominated a slate of Presidential Electors. The National Committee seated both delegations with a half vote each, which was neither legal nor sensible. In the September Convention in Dallas the Democrats won the Convention; reorganized the party; put the slate of electors, previously nominated, on the general election ticket; and carried the State for Roosevelt.

In 1948, by a false vote from Navarro County, Wright Morrow—a Republican—was made Democratic National Committeeman from Texas. In the September Convention the Democrats again won. They at once voted Wright Morrow out and Byron Skelton in. The Democratic National Committee retained Morrow against the will of Texas Democrats legally expressed. Democratic Electors were named and the Democrats carried the state for Truman.

In 1952, the Democrats organized a convention and sent a delegation to the Democratic National Convention. The Eisenhower "Democrats," led by Morrow and Shivers, also sent a delegation to Chicago. The Democratic National Committee seated the Shivers delegation. Shivers and Morrow bolted the Democratic Party and carried the state for the Republican candidate.

In spite of this open betrayal the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee sought and gained a conference with Governor Shivers and shortly thereafter announced that any man Shivers, Rayburn and Johnson agreed on for National Committeeman from Texas he would seat. They agreed upon Lieutenant Governor Ben Ramsey, a Shivers man with no record of being an ardent, active, campaigning Democrat, so the Young Democrats and the Women's Democratic Committee actively opposed him. Those three men were his only sponsors. But the National Committee seated him. Shivers again bolted and with his machine carried the state again for the Republicans.

The story of Johnson's opposition to Stevenson's nomination this year and his failure to campaign for the ticket thereafter is too fresh in all our minds to need repeating. But what went on in Texas in the campaign under Johnson's management went on with Chairman Butler's knowledge.

So what 1957 Model?

MINNIE FISHER CUNNINGHAM
New Waverly, Texas

► *Israel and the Arabs*

SIRS:

IN reply to Mrs. J. Jeny's comments on the Israeli-Arab question, printed in the issue of December 31, I must disagree sharply. Mrs. Jeny has no basis, I am sure, for making the statement that "most Americans" come away from the Middle East "in complete sympathy with the Arab position". . .

The technique of attempting to give the impression that a statement concerning expansion of Israel made by some unnamed speaker at "a public Zionist gathering" in San Francisco represents the opinion of the Israeli government is as morally dishonest as saying that a statement made before a White Citizens' Council in South Carolina is an indication of the attitude toward the Negro throughout America.

I don't know if Mrs. Jeny also learned that the 1948 war in Palestine came about because the Arabs refused to accept the decision of the General Assembly (which Israel was prepared to accept) and invaded the new state in direct violation of the decisions of the same United Nations which Egypt recently called upon for help.

ALLEN GRAUBARD
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